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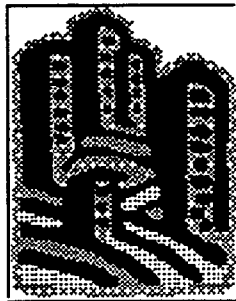
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**Urban Agriculture and the  
Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project**

*by*  
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# URBAN AGRICULTURE AND THE SUSTAINABLE DAR ES SALAAM PROJECT

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

As we approach the next century, feeding a predominantly urban-based population is becoming progressively more difficult. Any instrument which increases the capacity of urban dwellers to feed themselves should not go unnoticed. Urban agriculture is a building block which can be used towards building sustainable human settlements. Urban agriculture is an urban management tool that addresses poverty, income, and food issues. It is also useful to urban planners who are interested in "building with nature". In Dar es Salaam and several towns in Tanzania, urban agriculture is becoming a permanent part of urban land use. Not only does it improve urban food security but it also significantly contributes to the city economy.

Urban agriculture (UA) is increasingly becoming an important socio-economic and spatial phenomenon in cities in the North (industrialized) and in the South (developing). In the past, urban agriculture was a neglected area of study. Presently, UA is capturing the attention of a growing number of researchers and international bodies concerned with sustainable human development. Although UA appears to be new and its prevalence recent, it has been practiced for centuries (Silk, 1986)<sup>1</sup>.

Recent studies on urbanization in Africa and elsewhere have documented the practice of urban and peri-urban agriculture. Urban agriculture has been found to be a socio-economic survival strategy<sup>2</sup> for poor urban residents, providing food and employment. Furthermore, it contributes to the livelihood strategies of the "better-off" as well as making use of 'idle resources' in the urban ecosystem (Sawio, 1993:7-8).

The structure of this paper is as follows: First, new thinking on sustainable

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<sup>1</sup> Dana Silk (1987:14-15) argues that "ever since have been living in cities, food has been grown in cities. In ancient Greece food was grown in earthenware pots; in Roman days it was grown in the windows and balconies. Dr. Luc Mougeot of IDRC observes that urban food production existed in the Inca, Aztec and Mayan cities, Javanese and Indus towns and those in the Tigris and Euphrates valleys (IDRC Reports, Oct. 1993:2).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sanyal, 1984, 1986; Mwamfupe, (1994:iii).

human settlements and where urban agriculture fits into this thinking will be presented. This is followed by a brief outline on urban agriculture in Dar es Salaam in the context of the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project. The third part describes the results of urban agriculture research in Dar es Salaam and a few other towns in Tanzania. The fourth part of this paper describes some of the official attitudes towards UA. The last part discusses the role of UA in urban planning and the constraints that must be overcome in Tanzania in order to make UA a management tool for building sustainable cities.

## 1.1 Practice of UA and What it Includes

To appreciate the significance and contribution of urban agriculture to modern urban living, particularly in developing countries, it is worth noting that the usefulness of UA is not limited to food production. Urban agriculture is potentially a "major strategy to productively and equitably tackle water, waste and hazard problems in large urban centres, particularly as these affect the poor." (Mougeot, 1993:24).

Viewed from a wider perspective, urban agriculture is an integral part of building sustainable human settlements. In Agenda 21 of the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1992, it was clearly stated that in order to promote sustainable human settlements, various activities must be undertaken to improve urban management and to alleviate urban poverty by:

- Generating employment for the urban poor, particularly women, through the provision, improvement and maintenance of urban infrastructure and services, and the support of economic activities in the informal sector, such as repairs, recycling services and small commerce;
- Providing specific assistance to the poorest of the poor through, *inter alia*, the creation of social infrastructure in order to reduce hunger and homelessness, and the provision of adequate community services;
- Encouraging the establishment of indigenous community-based organizations and other forms of non-governmental entities that can contribute to the efforts to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life for low-income families (Agenda 21, 1992:52).

Urban agricultural activities can be carried out in (i) small open spaces as well as large ones in built-up areas, and in (ii) the urban fringes. Thus, we use the terms "urban agriculture" to refer to the former and "peri-urban agriculture" to the latter. As a concept and process, urban agriculture includes production of crops and trees

and livestock keeping in and around cities (Yeung, 1987). Sanyal (1984) terms urban agriculture as: "an essentially coping strategy adopted by households whose monetary incomes are insufficient for purchasing adequate amounts of food" (Sanyal, 1984:40). He adds that it is practiced by households who enjoy cultivation because of their past experience.

Other researchers have noted that urban agriculture encompasses formal cultivation and many more things including: fruit growing, container gardening, use of marginal areas such as road reserves, basements of abandoned buildings, boxes, canals, vacant land in towns, aquaculture (pond-fish farming), urban horticulture (vegetable and fruit production in urban and peri-urban areas), floriculture (production of flowers and urban ornamental trees and small plants), backyard and frontyard gardening, micro-livestock keeping, hydroponics, roof-top gardening, and biodegradable waste recycling (composting). Table 1 illustrates some of the practices which can be considered urban agriculture.

Table 1: Urban Agriculture (Farming System Groups)

Horticulture	Aquaculture	Livestock	Orchards/Woodlots
Vegetables ornamental, other crops in/on:	Fish, shrimp, seaweed, duckweed, etc. in:	Micro- (guinea pigs, rabbits, poultry), larger animals;	Fruit, other plants and fuelwood in/on:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- backyards</li> <li>- rooftops</li> <li>- vacant lots</li> <li>- community gardens</li> <li>- roads &amp; waterways</li> <li>- grounds of public &amp; private institutions</li> <li>- suburban farms</li> <li>- garbage land fills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- rivers</li> <li>- ponds</li> <li>- coastal bays</li> <li>- sewage lagoons</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- backyards</li> <li>- rooftops</li> <li>- along road sides</li> <li>- suburban farms parkland</li> <li>- urban forests</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- vineyards</li> <li>- parks</li> <li>- institutional grounds</li> <li>- roadsides</li> <li>- backyards</li> <li>- hedgerows</li> </ul>

Source: J. Smit & A. Ratta, in Hunger Notes, Fall, 1992, p.8.

## **1.2 Perception and Challenge**

The prevalence urban agriculture in cities such as Dar es Salaam, Morogoro, Dodoma and Arusha in Tanzania; or in Nairobi, Kampala, Lusaka, Addis Ababa, Kinshasa, Harare, Manila, Beijing, New York, Boston, and Hartford clearly challenges concepts and common perceptions among mainstream urban economists and planners which insist that agriculture is not part of the form and function of the city (Sawio, 1993:1). To the traditional urban planner, the architect, the industrialist, the politician and other decision-makers, urban agriculture detracts from the image of the planned and modern western city<sup>3</sup>. Therefore it is not surprising that city authorities usually perceive urban agriculture to be an outmoded, transitory activity appropriate only in rural areas. This perception does not concord with the need to feed ever increasing urban populations.

The rise of urban agriculture in the North and in the South, particularly in the production of food crops and the rearing of livestock challenges modern settlement experts and urban planners in matters of land allocation and architectural design. At the same time, this rise highlights the significance of people's struggle for survival. The challenge is to bring about a change in attitudes regarding what activities take place in urban areas. Creative ways of utilizing idle or underutilized resources in urban systems need to be devised in order to make towns and cities more economically productive. The definition of urban areas must also be re-examined. Urban centres and cities should not be characterized exclusively by 'non-agricultural economic functions'.

## **1.3 Rebuilding in Balance with Nature**

Today more than ever before, there is a need to build new cities and rebuild old ones in balance with nature because:

"..cities can be whole, vital, healthy creations in which architecture, transportation, land use, food growing, natural restoration, social and political arrangements can play their role connected in meaningful ways to all other systems and subsystems of the city."

"Some of the necessary steps toward rebuilding our cities in balance with

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<sup>3</sup> But the majority of participants in an International Ecocity Conference in March 14 - April 1990, Berkeley California observed that much of the western city needs to be rebuilt given its estrangement from nature. One of the things emphasized is development of urban agriculture.

nature include the creation of new affordable housing near existing transit services, establishment of urban agriculture, creek restoration, urban forestry, and effective "pre-cycling" and recycling programs. Instead of sprawled suburban development, boundaries between cities and natural areas would be green belts, woodlot and local farmlands." (Register, 1990:16).

## **2.0 URBAN AGRICULTURE AND THE SUSTAINABLE DAR ES SALAAM PROJECT**

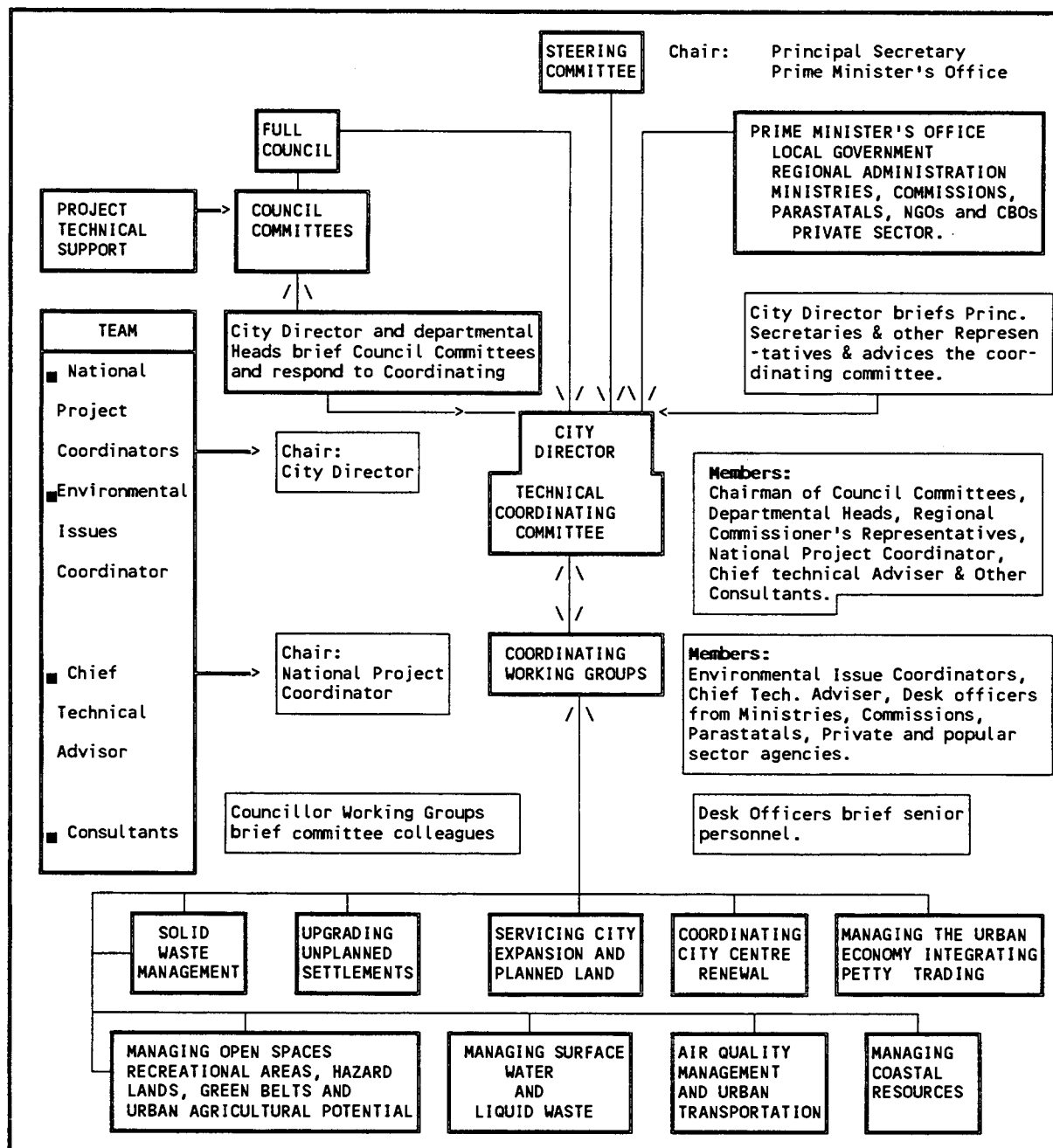
The Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project (SDP) was established under the auspices of the Global Sustainable Cities Programme of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS). It was soon recognized that the deteriorating environmental conditions in Dar es Salaam presented major constraints to achieving sustainable and equitable socio-economic development. After a successful Consultation on Environmental Issues for the Management of the Sustainable Growth and Development of Dar es Salaam from August 26 to September 1, 1992, the Environmental Profile of the city was completed as illustrated by Figure 1.

In the City Declaration, it was recommended that one of the priorities to be addressed by the city council with support from SDP is the Management of Open Spaces, Recreational Areas, Hazard Lands, Greenbelt and Urban Agricultural Potential (see Figure 1). These environmental issues cannot be dealt with in isolation, they must be tackled in an integrated way, in relation with other issues under coordinated working groups.

The overall framework in Figure 1 was supported at the national level by the Ministry of Local Government through the Prime Minister's Office (PMO). A working group on urban agriculture has been formed within the SDP. On-going research on urban agriculture and environmental planning and management in Dar es Salaam is supported by IDRC and UNCHS. This research is taking into account the issues identified in the Dar es Salaam Environmental Profile.

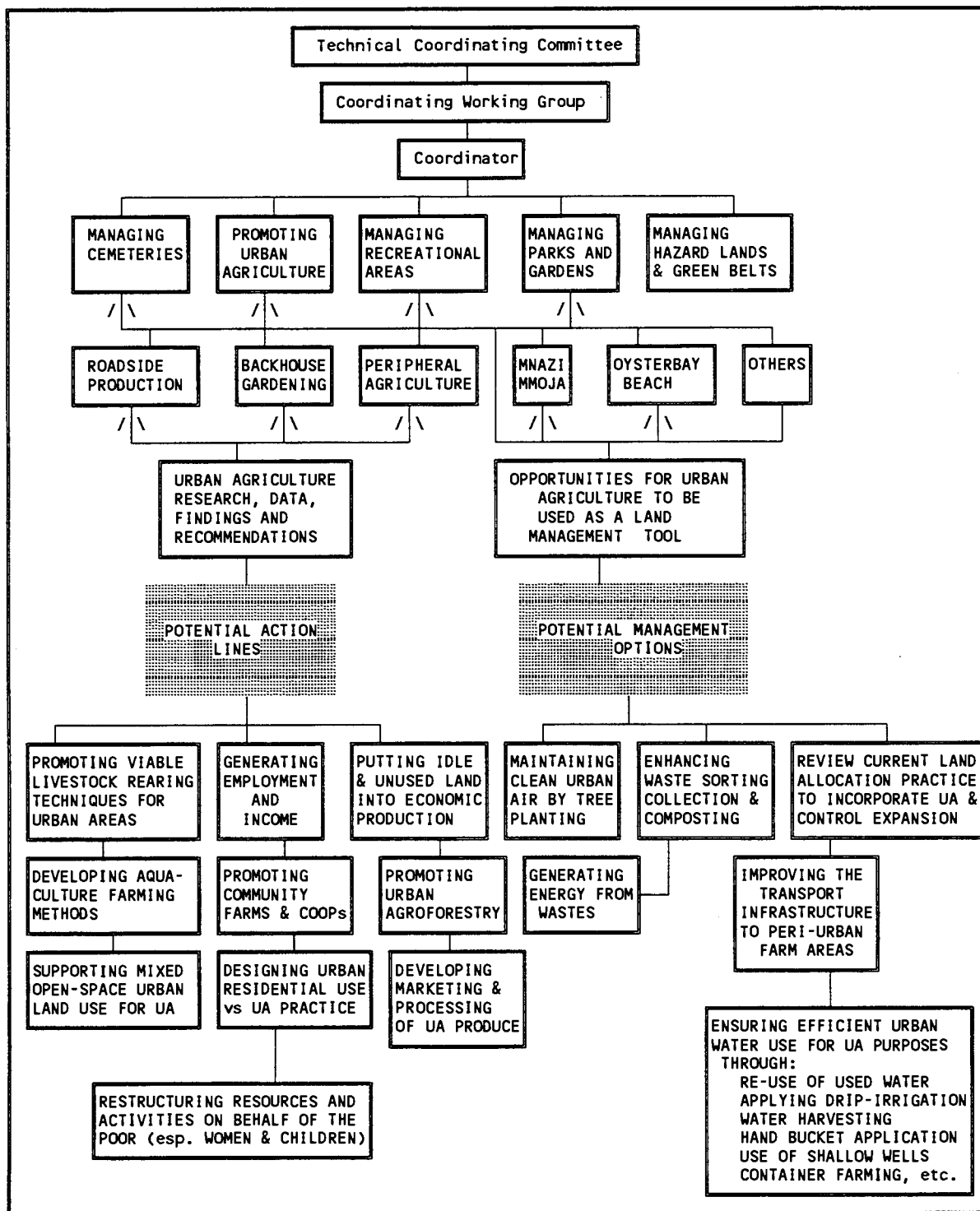
In attempting to integrate urban agriculture and open spaces, recreational areas, hazard lands and greenbelt in urban land use, a number of relationships can be envisaged. These relationships are illustrated in Figure 2. The figure builds on the environmental issues identification which was done by the SDP during the preparation of the environmental profile. The figure has been modified to reflect the potential action lines and management options which the working groups may consider.





Source: Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project, 1993, Environmental Profile.

Figure 1: Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project - Draft Constitutional Framework



/ \ = Show the relationship between research on urban agriculture and the opportunities for urban agriculture and the management of the identified environmental issues (& proposed action & management options).

Source: Adapted from SDP, (cf. Sawio, C. & Kishimba, M. 1993) unpublished Report on a One Day SDP Workshop on Urban Agriculture in Dar es Salaam. The figure was modified to reflect the potential action lines and management options.

Figure 2: Relationship between urban agriculture and management of open spaces, recreational areas, green belts and hazard lands

### **3.0 Significance of Urban Agriculture in Dar es Salaam and Selected Cities in Tanzania.**

The significance of urban agriculture can be perceived in a number of ways, ranging from amount of land under UA practice to levels of income generated, amounts of food produced, variety of crops and livestock kept and so on. A number of these views will be presented below using data from previous research on urban agriculture in Tanzania .

#### **3.1 Urban Land Use and Area under UA**

In Dar es Salaam, analysis of land changes resulting from population growth and city expansion shows an increase in the use of land for different purposes. According the Dar es Salaam Environmental Profile (Baruti *et al*, 1992), Dar es Salaam has a total land of 1,350 km<sup>2</sup> about 430 km<sup>2</sup> are for urban development and immediate expansion, 20 km<sup>2</sup> are for forest reserves and 900 km<sup>2</sup> are suitable for agricultural development.

Urban agriculture in Dar es Salaam takes place in small open spaces, in valleys, vacant land, land around residential areas and institutions, and in the peri-urban areas. Analysis of aerial photographs since 1966 show dominance of agricultural land in areas which are not built-up. In 1978, for example, changes in land use show that some crop production has been squeezed out of the city area compared to previous years. Due to the increase in population and the struggle for survival, every portion of land that can be put to use is utilized. Therefore urban agriculture is found in all kinds of different spaces. A similar situation is found in Mbeya, Kilosa, Morogoro, and Arusha (Mvena *et al*, 1991).

Sawio (1993) noted that even as the city expanded outward, land for UA was still available. Even in the more urbanized areas of Kinondoni, Mwananyamala, Oysterbay and others, urban agriculture is a common land use. In 1992, Mwamfupe (1994) and Sawio (1993) observed that agriculture was the dominant land use in the city's open spaces and river valleys. UA is widespread in low-density areas in Oysterbay, Mikocheni and Regent Estate, and Kurasini where people keep livestock and use gardens around their residences. Unkept school and factory-grounds as well as road reserves are used for market gardening. These spaces were initially planned as open spaces but the City Council failed to maintain them. Table 2 shows overall land use in Dar es Salaam from 1966 through 1992.

Table 2: Acreage by Land Use Category

Land use Category	1966	1978	1992	% Change 1966-1992
Central area	380	410	440	16
Residential	2,199	6,124	41,100	1,769
Commercial	35	210	320	814
Industry/ warehouse	485	1,370	1,570	223
Institutional	2,049	2,842	3,103	51
Open Spaces	436	12,020	865	98
Agriculture	11,622	17,790	92,172	693
Quarries	-	326	684	110
Forest reserves	-	12,272	20,155	64

Source: Mwamfupe (1994), p. 113.

The data in Table 2 includes peri-urban land use. Due to urban pressure, the peri-urban zone of Dar es salaam has experienced considerable land use change. This is the result of the population growth, city boundary expansion, and demand for land and food. Land use changes have taken place with more vacant land being used and certain land uses being replaced by others. Mwamfupe (1994:122) and Sawio (1993:133-168) found that within built-up areas, land reserved for recreation, including play-grounds, is being encroached upon for residential use.

Increasingly, open spaces around residences in the built-up areas of Dar es Salaam and other towns are coming under cultivation. The number of livestock sheds have also mushroomed in low-density and medium-density plots. The extent and rate of expansion of livestock keeping in cities has yet to be determined. Data for Dar es Salaam show an increase in the number of animals reared (Table 3). Livestock keeping in the city supplies some of the meat, milk, and eggs needed by city residents. It also contributes to the improvement of urban food security and generates cash and employment. However, keeping large numbers of livestock in urban areas leads to environmental degradation and is a potential health hazard.

Table 3: Some Statistics of Livestock Kept in Dar es Salaam, Mosha (1991)

Type of Livestock	1985	1988	1989
Chicken	510,798	793,441	n.d.
Pigs	8,601	13,383	15,657
Goats	2,617	5,764	6,218
Dairy cattle	4,200	5,718	8,517

Source: Mosha, 1991:84.

In the peri-urban zones, land speculation is causing changes in land use. for example, land formerly devoted to cashew production is replaced by horticulture and the production of staple foods such as maize and bananas. These substitutions are also taking place in Morogoro and Arusha (Stevenson *et al*, 1994). Overall, land in the peri-urban zone of Dar es Salaam is being rapidly converted to crop production. Briggs (1991:11) notes that "the peri-urban zone of Dar es Salaam is currently a zone of considerable dynamism. From a highly neglected area in the 1960s, it became an area of settlement for authorities wishing to rid the city of its economically surplus population during the villagization campaign in the 1970s. In the 1980s, it has become a zone offering opportunities, initially in terms of household survival, and, later, in terms of cash income."

### 3.2 Who are the Urban Producers in Dar es Salaam?

UA is definitely growing and changing in terms of the way it is practised and in terms of who is carries out food production activities. Mwamfupe's findings (Table 2) show that acreage under agriculture around Dar es Salaam for example has increased considerably in the open spaces and in the peri-urban areas. Interestingly, those engaged in urban agriculture are from all socio-economic classes. Their occupations range from professionals to casual labourers. Although women are the majority of urban food producers, men and children are also involved. It should be noted that the majority of livestock keepers are the more affluent urbanites. In a National Informal Sector study of 1991, about two-thirds of all informal sector operators were found to be involved in cultivation and livestock keeping. People with formal jobs, who have been laid-off or had retired were included among those who practised agriculture.

### **3.3 Contribution to Household Food Consumption**

One of the major reasons why households engage in UA is to reduce household food expenditure. Therefore production for home consumption is relatively important. In all towns and especially Dar es Salaam, urban agriculture involves many people including the very poor, the landless and some affluent residents. Some produce is destined for sale but most of the produce is destined for household consumption. On the whole in Dar es Salaam, UA contributes about 20-30% of the household food supply (Sawio, 1993). According to the 1988 Population Census, it is estimated that between 6 or 7% of Dar es Salaam workers indicated that UA was their main source of income (Schipppers, 1994). Given low average incomes (10,000 Tanzanian Shillings per month), inflation and relatively low purchasing power, it is not surprising that UA may provide more than 40% of household food needs. Substantial amounts of vegetables (cassava leaves, amaranth, potatoes and potato leaves, pumpkins, cow peas) are produced in Dar es Salaam.

### **3.4 Marketing of Urban Produce**

Urban farmers operate under different sets of conditions and choices. Not all produce is consumed in the household. For those farmers who sell all or part of their produce, market access is an important factor. In a study of urban horticulture in Dar es Salaam, Dodoma and Arusha for example, it was estimated that just over half of crops grown were sold. The highest proportion of produce sold was found in Dar es Salaam (59%). The figures for Arusha and Dodoma were 56% and 54% respectively (Stevenson, 1994:40). The revenues obtained from produce sales appear to be higher than those obtained from other sources. For livestock keepers in Dar es Salaam, a litre of milk sells for over 300 shillings. Eggs are 60 shillings each and a chicken sells for over 1,600 shillings. The value added for UA produce appears to be relatively high.

Marketing of UA products is not a major problem in an area like Dar es Salaam, though some constraints exist. Farmers are required to have a license to operate road stalls and kiosks. There is also a lack of appropriate, well-equipped markets for perishable products. The above constraints are some of the infrastructural aspects which need to be taken into account when promoting urban agriculture.

#### **4.0 OFFICIAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS UA.**

The attitudes of policy-makers towards UA in many countries ranges from repression to tolerance to support. In Tanzania, the attitude towards urban agriculture is generally positive. However, there are no policy guidelines to regulate the practice of UA. The Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development focuses most of its efforts in rural areas and very little attention, if any, is given to urban farming.

The Master Plans for Tanzanian cities currently in use have designated urban agricultural zones, recreational areas and green belts. Hazard lands (mainly in flood plains) were designated for agricultural use as were areas on the urban fringe. The 1979 Master Plan for Dar es Salaam made similar provisions. However, due to inadequate capacity to implement plans and to enforce zoning regulations, areas not designated for agriculture, such as open spaces designated for playgrounds, have been encroached upon.

There are city by-laws restricting the number of heads of cattle one can keep in the city. Accordingly, residents can only keep four heads of cattle in zero-grazing. The rationale is not to eliminate urban farming or livestock keeping but rather to maintain a sustainable urban environment. Some control over UA activities appears to be necessary to ensure the well-being of urban residents. Even with the existence of such by-laws, there is no capacity within the city council of Dar es Salaam to enforce the by-laws. A number of problems have resulted from haphazard open grazing and misguided crop growing. Another area of concern is that section 80 of the Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act No. 8 of 1982 of Tanzania empowers town and municipal authorities to destroy crops grown which are a meter or more in height. When crops are destroyed, the urban poor suffer.

Although there remains some ambivalence among the authorities, it is hoped that the work of the Sustainable Dar es Salaam project will result in urban agriculture being given due recognition and being accepted as an integral part of the urban mosaic.

#### **5.0 CITY PLANNING AND CONSTRAINTS ON URBAN AGRICULTURE**

In Dar es Salaam, as well as in other towns in Tanzania, the environmental conditions under which urban agriculture is carried out could pose several problems. Air and water pollution is common in the major valleys where UA activities are prevalent. Msimbazi valley in Dar es Salaam is a case in point. Crops irrigated with polluted water or exposed to polluted air can be a health hazard. The

same is true of livestock fed with fodder that has been polluted.

Other major constraints to UA development in Dar es Salaam and elsewhere include:

- water shortages and insecurity of land tenure;
- limited access to land particularly for the urban poor;
- water and soil of pollution from wastes including wastes from food processing, industries, pesticides, and solid and liquid wastes from households. Costs for careful identification and assessment of suitable sites for UA will be incurred. Health concerns are also an important issue;
- existing capacity to collect, recycle and compost waste is inadequate. Compost has potential value for urban agriculture. Sanitation can be improved with efficient waste collection. Other benefits are improved drainage, leading to a reduction in the cost of road maintenance, a reduction in ground water pollution, and improved aesthetic appearance of the city overall;
- open spaces could be major source of land for UA in both urban and peri-urban areas. However, due to demand for land for housing, land use conflicts occur. The management of open spaces in Dar es Salaam and other towns tends to favour allocating land to housing over agriculture. This is largely due to lack of resources, lack of political will and the fact that institutional responsibilities and accountability are not well defined. The potential role of urban agriculture, either as a temporary or permanent land use, is not accounted for;
- despite the existence of by-laws stipulating that in urban areas only four heads of cattle can be kept if they are zero-grazed, in Dar es Salaam and Morogoro, large numbers of dairy cattle are present. As previously mentioned, this poses a potential public health hazard;
- policy guidelines on urban agriculture have not yet been developed. If these are not formulated with the right attitude, the guidelines may have a negative impact on urban agriculture, worsening the position of poor urban dwellers in particular;
- urban farmers seldom benefit from extension services as they are away from the farm during weekdays. Poorer farmers cannot afford some of the recommended inputs for livestock



keeping;

- since many towns in Tanzania are expanding horizontally rather than vertically, land speculation for peri-urban areas is common. Potentially good land for agricultural development is lost in this way;
- other constraints are the lack of credit for the low-income urban farmers, inability to prevent post-harvest losses, lack of know-how to undertake community composting, container gardening, ridging, nursery planting, and other practices.

## **6.0 CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The prevalence and significance of urban agriculture, the challenges it poses to urban planners, decision-makers and residents themselves are now widely recognized. This is attested to by the recent growth of research on urban agriculture. Urban agriculture is also gaining momentum because it is increasingly seen as instrumental to furthering the sustainable development of human settlements.

The notion of building in balance with nature as echoed during the International Ecocity Conference of 1990 underscores the importance of urban agriculture. Equally important is the concept that cities need not continue to be only recipients of resources from outside and generators of pollutants. Promoting urban agriculture seems an integral part of making cities more productive economically as well as more appealing environmentally.

Because urban agriculture is a relatively new phenomenon in the urban planning, there still exist some negative attitudes towards it. The notion that urban agriculture is an illegal activity or that it is an expression of the ruralization of cities is not uncommon. In Dar es Salaam, under the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project, the positive aspects of urban farming are increasingly being recognized. New research and demonstration projects are needed on urban environmental management, gender, nutrition, livelihood enhancement, pollution abatement, and water provision as the promotion of urban agriculture has an impact in each of these areas.

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The original version of the preceding paper was presented at:

**Habitat 94: New Frontiers in Housing & Planning**  
Canadian Institute of Planners & International Federation for Housing & Planning

**Cities Feeding People: Urban Agriculture and City Planning  
in the North & the South**

Session D1, Edmonton Convention Centre

September 20, 1994, 15:30 - 17:00

Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

This panel discussed and compared the recent evolution of food production within and on the edge of cities in the North and the South, its current significance (land use, practitioners, consumers, share of urban food supply, market value). It presented recent changes in official recognition, regulation and promotion of urban agriculture. The panel addressed important challenges for urban agriculture which the city planning community can assist in overcoming to render our cities more sustainable. The session included a 10-minute introduction, four 15-minute presentations, and a 20-minute question and answer period.

**"Urban Food Production: A Survey of Evolution, Official Support and Significance (with special reference to Africa)"\***

Chairperson: Luc J.A. Mougeot, Senior Program Officer, International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Ottawa, Ontario, Canada (fax: 613-567-7749).

**"Promoting Urban Agriculture: A Strategy Framework for Planners in North America, Europe and Asia"**

Speaker: Paul Sommers, Tropical Horticulture Consultant, and Jac Smit, President, The Urban Agriculture Network, Washington, D.C. USA (fax: 202-986-6732).

**"Urban Agriculture and The Sustainable Dar-es-Salaam Project, Tanzania"**

Speaker: Camillus Sawio, UNCHS-IDRC Research Project Coordinator, Department of Geography, University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania (fax: 255-51-43038/46718).

**"Une Histoire des Deux Villes: Comparing Canadian Community Gardening Programs in Montreal and Toronto"**

Speaker: Sean Cosgrove, Design Consultant, Toronto Food Policy Council, and Board Member of American Community Gardening Association, Toronto, Canada (fax: 416-393-1357).

**"Urban Agriculture: Can Planners Make a Difference?"\***

Speaker: Timothy Greenhow, Urban/Regional Planner, SWEDEPLAN - International Divisional of Sweden's National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, Stockholm, Sweden (fax: 46-8-644-4689).

\* Opinions expressed in the papers do not necessarily represent the views of the institutions to which their authors are affiliated.

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